

THE WORLD

TOMORROW

PATRICK HENRY
and
SENATOR LODGE

Kirby Page



*Symbols of
Opposition*

NOVEMBER 16th

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**H. G. Wells -
Liberal
Prophet**

H. N. BRAILSFORD

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

NOVEMBER 16, 1932

No. 18

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indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 10 cents; \$3 per year; Canada, \$4
foreign, \$3.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence a-
be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York
British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, Lon-
Annual Subscription, 14s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter,
30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3,

This Week's Anniversary NORMAN THOMAS

Born November 20, 1884

The American Socialists do not propose to re-
peat the excusable mistake of our British com-
rades in simply using social legislation and the
power to tax to ameliorate the ills of the profit
system. We intend to change the system which
inevitably breeds unemployment. We propose to
use our emergency unemployment program of it-
self to help bring about this change and to feed
the men and women who must do the work of
peaceful revolution. . . . Ours is not a problem
of doling out water from a barrel but of remov-
ing the jam of false ideals and broken-down eco-
nomic institutions which now dams up the life-
giving waters of wealth, and creates here a flood
and there a drought. To turn from metaphor
to fact: when we mean business as we meant it in
war we can raise \$10,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,-
000 for immediate relief, for public works, and
for bringing idle factories and idle men together.
Our main dependence would be bonds underwrit-
ten—(1) by returns from remunerative works;
(2) income and inheritance taxes; (3) the capital
levy. . . . It is because I am not a Communist
that I advocate an orderly and carefully gradu-
ated capital levy rather than piecemeal or whole-
sale confiscation by violence. It is because I am
not a faker that I insist that the well-being of the
masses cannot be achieved and leave our pluto-
cracy untouched.—*From his Madison Square
Garden address, New York, Nov. 3, 1932.*

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XV

November 16, 1932

No. 18

The Conservative-Liberal Avalanche

Mr. Roosevelt's election has been a foregone conclusion for some weeks. The President's frantic efforts to turn back the tides which were running against him affected the final results only slightly. The people of the nation were thoroughly disheartened and in a desperate mood. Their votes were determined by blind resentment against things as they are. In that mood they were unable to think profoundly upon the past and the future of American political life, particularly since they lacked, on the whole, the political intelligence to make a thorough and penetrating analysis of the economic and political ills from which we suffer.

Indicative of the confusion of thought and purpose which reigns in the victorious Democratic ranks is the fact that while the Costigans and Wheelers and Norrises and Johnsons swung the radical West to Roosevelt, John Raskob broke his prolonged silence in the last hours of the campaign by announcing a very simple and easy solution for overcoming the depression. It consisted of a plan for reducing the surtaxes on big incomes and substituting a sales tax of one and one-half per cent and promising the preposterous sum of a billion dollars from a beer tax. Roosevelt's campaign in the East, calculated to allay the fears of the bankers, opened the eyes of at least one liberal group in the West. A progressive club in St. Louis, consisting of 1,600 members, swung its support to Norman Thomas on the last day of the campaign, asserting that Roosevelt had proved himself to be a reactionary in his concluding campaign addresses. Meanwhile there is a rumor that Roosevelt will hasten the announcement of the appointment of Owen Young, Melvin Traylor and Newton Baker to the cabinet in order to allay the fears of Wall Street and prevent a carry on the stock exchange.

The Roosevelt majority is big enough to enable a very resolute and capable leader to reorganize the Democratic Party into an instrument of mild liberalism. But Roosevelt lacks both the resolution and the ability to encompass this result. The forces which secured his election hold political philosophies as incompatible with each other as the varying political objectives of the motley crew which supports Adolph Hitler in Germany. A little gain may be expected from the new administration on the questions of power and unemployment. In foreign policy there are actual possibilities of sinister developments and on the domestic front nothing but confusion need to be expected. On

the whole the mountain has labored to bring forth a mouse and the country will be under the necessity of subjecting itself to another four years of bitter experience in order to learn the obvious lesson that the distempers of our economic order are too basic to be cured by a few quack remedies administered by a physician who is only vaguely conscious of the nature of the disease and whose party is not the political instrument to effect even those cures which he recognizes as necessary.

The Election's Significance for Socialists

As we go to press the size of the vote for Thomas and Maurer is not known. It certainly will not reach the two million mark, as had been hoped, and may not exceed a million. Four years ago Norman Thomas polled 267,420 votes, and in 1920 Gene Debs reached the high-water figure of 919,799. In our next issue we plan to publish a detailed tabulation of the Socialist vote throughout the nation for both national and strategic state offices.

To say that we are not sorely disappointed would be to convey a false impression. It seems almost incredible that at a time of mass misery, and in view of the nature of the arguments advanced by the winning candidates, the public should still be so gullible as to give Roosevelt and Garner a record vote, when they were presented with the opportunity of voting for the outstanding Socialist candidates and an entirely new game of politics and economics. Once more the shortsightedness of the American voters is emphasized. They preferred to choose what they considered the lesser of two evils rather than vote effectively for the future.

But we are not discouraged. More than ever we are convinced that the Socialist Party, combined with a powerful labor movement, is absolutely essential to a pacific revolution, and to it we pledge our renewed loyalty. One incalculable gain of the election is the final annihilation of the fantasy that an effective third party can be created in this country without an adequate socialist philosophy. So long as the voters are ignorant of the real meaning of socialism, and are afraid of a radical program of social change, it is futile to expect leadership from the LaFollettes and Norrises. There is no short cut to the pacific transformation of our economic order. The task before us is not to gather liberals together in a new party, but to convert progressives to socialism. Any other course will

lead surely and quickly to some form of fascism or communism.

We are able to pick up a few minor crumbs of satisfaction from the election returns. We are ready to shout hallelujah over the enforced retirement of such princes of reaction as Senator Moses, Senator Watson, Senator Bingham, and chief high-priest Senator Smoot. That the country is to be spared the chauvinistic ravings of the red-hunting Chapple, Republican candidate for the United States Senate from Wisconsin, is cause for rejoicing. But our enthusiasm is tempered by the realization that a new generation of reactionaries will soon be sworn into office in Washington. When will the voters realize that electing Democratic demagogues is not the way to repair the damage done by their Republican predecessors?

To Your Precincts!

Now that the election is over, there is danger that the liberal and radical forces, after having been stirred by the Thomas campaign, may sink into what Grover Cleveland once defined as innocuous desuetude. Those who have been laboring with might and main during the campaign should indeed take a deserved rest in which to recuperate and no one needs or deserves this more than the gallant Norman Thomas, who has waged a campaign of singular energy, devotion and intelligence.

But these last few months should in fact be but a prelude to the greater struggle which we hope is about to open. For if America is to be won to the ideals of a coöperative society, there is no time to be lost and for every person who was energized by this campaign a hundred more must be stirred into activity.

Our advice to those who really desire to transform our society is of a two-fold nature. We must on the one hand be broadly cosmopolitan in our thought and interests but localized in our method of attack. Those in the movement need to dig more deeply into the maze of our economic breakdown, into the movement of social and political forces everywhere and into the problems of control in the new state.

But despite all this, gazing at the moon is the last occupation which American Socialists and their sympathizers should adopt. What is needed is to plant the seed of socialism deep in the soil of American life. That cannot be done by national movements with imposing names or by the dicta of pontifical liberals. It can only be done by the devotion of tens of thousands of persons who in their localities proceed to organize groups to conquer political power for the people. We shall never elect a president until we have first elected governors, and never governors until we have elected mayors and aldermen aplenty. The man who wants to help but who is discouraged because he cannot influence national politics can find close at home the jobs for him to do. Let him help in building up a real

people's party in his town or city which will master and deal realistically with local issues and at the same time reach out for coöperation with similar groups elsewhere.

Above all let the liberal or radical cease to think that his duty is done when he has attended his quota of dinners and instead get down to work in his precinct. In distributing literature, in getting friends together for discussion, and above all in canvassing his neighbors during the campaigns, the liberal will find work which, though unpleasant at times, will nevertheless remove the feeling of futility which now all too often oppresses him. A few hundred men and women who merely meet occasionally to listen to speeches by visiting lecturers are politically useless. Those same persons, however, working energetically in their precinct for a real second party could capture any city in the land except the largest metropolises. American liberals and socialists need to sink their shafts where they are and thus impregnate with their devotion the hundreds of thousands of men and women who can never be greatly moved by words but who will take fire from patient and yet imaginative action.

Limping Toward Disarmament

When Chancellor von Papen declares that the recent French proposal represents "great progress" there is reason for hope that, after all our disappointments, something significant may yet come from the Disarmament Conference.

In addressing the Chamber of Deputies, Premier Herriot made the startling proposal that all European nations abolish professional armies and substitute the militia system. This extraordinary suggestion means that the French Premier realizes that the armament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles can no longer be maintained, and that Germany must be granted "equality of rights." Either French armaments must come down or German armaments will go up. The French officials seem to have concluded that the latter alternative constitutes the greater menace to France and are bowing to the inevitable.

It would be foolishly optimistic, however, to assume that France is ready to grant Germany equality of armed strength. The former will stubbornly resist inch by inch, and will not retreat further or faster than required to do so by fear of revolution within Germany and by pressure of world opinion. It is encouraging, nevertheless, to hear the German Chancellor saying, "Apparently France proposes that all nations have similarly equipped armies. Here we can talk, for under the Treaty of Versailles we were debarred from equal armaments."

The significance of the French proposal concerning equal rights in armaments cannot be understood apart from the other aspects of the French plan

Herriot calls for a consultative pact with other nations, including the United States; an extension of the Locarno agreement by negotiating a new regional pact of mutual assistance; compulsory arbitration, and compulsory inspection and control of armaments; a reaffirmation by League members of their duties under Article 16 of the Covenant; and the strengthening of the armed sanctions at the disposal of the League. That is to say, reductions in armaments are conditioned upon security.

There is abundant reason to doubt that other nations are prepared to give France the type of security which she craves, and to fear that Herriot's proposal will prove a futile gesture. But there is a possibility that it may bring Germany back to the Disarmament Conference and that a compromise agreement may yet be reached. Pacifists cannot accept the plan of conscript bodies of militia, and yet they should recognize the radical nature of the French proposal to grant, even in principle, equality of armaments to Germany. France's willingness to accept compulsory arbitration is extremely significant.

Britain and the "Dole"

After two years of investigation, Great Britain's Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance has reported that the dole—as it is so fondly referred to by those who like to deceive the public—should not only be retained but extended to apply to several new classes of jobless workers. The Tory Party is described in dispatches as pleased with the majority report of the commission, while the Labor Party is rallying around the minority report. The issue between the two groups is not the retention of the system; as all except the editors of American capitalist newspapers have long known, not one responsible politician of any party in Great Britain would dare to advocate giving up the unemployment insurance plan, which dates back in its beginnings to 1911. The issue, rather, is the means test, which, incidentally, apart from whatever deliberate communistic incitement may have been also involved, was the cause of the recent distressing "hunger marches" on London. To many Americans, the truth about the means test is not easy to obtain. That any person possessing some means of support should ask for insurance benefits seems, superficially, highly unreasonable. But to take this view is to advance a theory which is contradicted by actual facts. In practice, the means test works out in a vast number of cases with harshness and rank injustice. A family whose wage-earner is unemployed, let us say, is without income but, up to the time of its crisis, held a minimum of protection in the form of a life insurance policy. Under the application of the means test, this policy must be turned in for its cash value, the holder thereby losing protection for his beneficiaries and the rate of premiums at which the policy began, and gaining

only a temporary aid, before any regular "dole" will be granted. If another family has a home on which they have paid a fourth of its cost, that home must be sold off at sacrificial prices if the owner is to receive any unemployment insurance benefits. These homely illustrations, which can be multiplied in an infinite variety of shadings in thousands of situations, will suffice to indicate not only why it is that resentment among countless individuals has been directed against the National Government but why the Labor Party is fighting for the eradication of the means test altogether. Ramsay MacDonald, with one of his characteristic outbursts of sentimentalism, pledged that the means test would not be permitted to impose hardship and cruelty; but in fact, its operation has wrecked countless homes and spread the direst misery among the population. Hundreds of thousands of families have been driven to the "rates" . . . that is, to the acceptance of local charity. By last March, 1,300,000 persons, indubitably unemployed, had been put in the transitional class, supported by "dole" which come out of the special government funds provided for that category instead of from the insurance scheme itself. Committees estimate how much a "transitional" needs, and act accordingly—or according to their own prejudices or political demands for economy. In a six-month period, out of 4,222,563 decisions regarding benefits made by public assistance committees, benefit



"Before we begin. Mr. Lamb, please understand my motives are the best: We simply must do something to bring about economies in the consumption of grass."

Dyson in the London Daily Herald

was reduced in 1,500,429 instances, and eliminated altogether in 429,390 cases. Totalling up all the figures in six months, not fewer than 600,000 persons are known to have been refused *aid of any kind*, though they are certainly jobless and in want.

It appears certain that the report of the Royal Commission will offer a major issue of debate in Britain for a long time to come. Whether the Labor Party will forthrightly fight against the inadequacies implied in the majority view, which explicitly calls for further economies and demands the retention of the means test, will soon be known. Their view is that unemployment is the fault of society. In the British municipal elections held on November first, a Labor trend was discernible; though the gain was only fifteen municipalities out of three hundred, it is important to note that the advances are computed in relation to the 1929 elections, when, municipally speaking at any rate, Labor was at the zenith of its prestige. It seems incontrovertible that only as Labor drops its temporizing and compromising policies and stands out boldly for a Socialist program, can it hope to influence the electorate in its own direction. Thousands of workers and unemployed, as evidenced by the strength of the Independent Labor Party in its disaffiliation from the Labor Party, are ready for a fighting program, but are infinitely tired of platitudes and postponements.

The German Election

The election in Germany last Sunday is significant chiefly for revealing the expected recession of the Hitler tide and for increasing the Communist vote at the expense of the Socialists. Hitler has lost the big industrialists, who find that they are much better served by the quiet, shrewd and hardworking junker bureaucrats of the von Papen government than by the mealy-mouthed demagogues of the Hitler movement. Hitler has therefore become the leader of the disinherited middle classes in a more unequivocal sense than heretofore. But he has lost his chance to come to power either by way of parliament or by way of a coup d'etat. The von Papen government will probably continue to govern without parliament, at least as long as Hindenburg is alive. Germany is a vortex in which no combination of parties can now gain a parliamentary majority. But any group which can reach the center of the vortex can gain a certain stability, even if it lacks strength of its own, simply by appropriating the pressures and tensions which press in upon the center of the vortex from the various sides of the political compass.

The growth of the Communist vote simply means that the anti-labor tendencies of the von Papen junkers must be faced by more heroic means than the Socialists have known how to employ. Either German socialism will find a whole new line of policy or its membership will suffer a gradual and continual diminution with a

concomitant swelling of Communist ranks. The drift toward the left is unmistakable. The momentary union which the von Papen militarists are achieving in distraught Germany is being bought at the expense of ultimate day of reckoning between reaction and radicalism.

A Scottsboro Milestone

As expected by everyone who had followed the history of the seven Negro lads involved in the famous Scottsboro case, the Supreme Court of the United States decided on November 7 that the defendants had been denied the rights of counsel to which they had been entitled, and, by a seven to two verdict, sent the case back to the Alabama courts for a re-trial. Once more the Supreme Court has shown itself to be less reactionary than its worst critics have said, even if it has also revealed that a minority at least can always be relied upon to stand by their conservative bias. That any other view should have been thought of than that expressed by the majority of the Court seems almost incredible. But even so, there is scarcely cause for rejoicing. The boys have been saved from execution for the time being. But while one or two recent cases have proved that the process of justice in Alabama is not universally diverted into channels of race prejudice, these are exceptions rather than the rule, and it will be hard to establish the innocence of the Negroes in such an environment. The utmost vigilance will be required on the part of radicals and liberals, and we fervently hope that the case will not continue to be used as a focal point, to the detriment of the defendants themselves, for exploitation by Communists or any other economic or political group. The thing to drive at is freedom for the accused, of whose innocence there can be little doubt, and whose execution would certainly be a travesty of justice.

Why Not Go the Whole Way?

A sensible proposal for reducing unemployment has been made by Professor Frank D. Graham of Princeton. He proposes to break the familiar but vicious deadlock which our money and profit economy presents in having both men and machines lie idle because they cannot profitably produce the commodities which mankind so sorely needs. Why, Professor Graham asks, should not the unemployed be put to work producing for each other? He would bring the unemployed men and the idle machinery and plant together to produce commodities which would then be exchanged for other commodities produced in the same manner. An essentially barter economy would thus be set up alongside the price economy. And this economy the greater the quantity of goods produced, the greater would be the relative demand.

As economists from the time of Say on have demonstrated, there can be no such thing as general over-

production in a barter economy. For there the quantity of goods produced is the same thing as the effective demand. But there is a slip in applying this reasoning to our present capitalistic system, for in it goods are produced for a money profit. It is possible for business as a whole to produce more goods than can be sold by it for a profit. In this sense therefore it is possible to have general overproduction. The attempt of individual businesses to protect themselves by reducing production leads necessarily to increased unemployment and to a further cumulative breakdown of business. Building up a barter economy alongside this system, which would be conducted for the satisfaction of mutual human needs rather than for profit, would eliminate this difficulty. Such a system has been advocated abroad by Gsill and is now in operation in some of the towns of upper Silesia.

Professor Graham seems, however, to be almost as naïve in calling upon private industry to set up such a supplementary system as were Robert Owen and Fourier a century ago. For they too expected the capitalists to subscribe the necessary funds to establish those villages of unity and coöperation which were designed in part as places of refuge for those thrown out of employment by the capitalistic system. If the unemployed are, however, to be set to work producing for each other, it will have to be by some form of governmental action which will make available the idle factories which are needed. Finally it may be asked if it is necessary to prevent the money-profit economy from periodically collapsing by calling for a supplementary system of production for use instead of profit, why would it not be better permanently to substitute the latter for the former?

What's Wrong With Mrs. Kallis?

A terrible example of putting the government into business is afforded by the Chicago public schools, which have been running cafeterias for their pupils in direct competition with privately-owned, near-by lunchrooms. The government must be gotten out of business, of course. An association of retail dealers came to the rescue. The good old, established principle of letting individual initiative, enterprise, and profit-and-loss accounts take charge of the health and growth of a nation's children had to be protected. Representatives of the association interviewed various principals in an endeavor to dissuade them from continuing their unfairness to business. But in vain; socialism marched right ahead.

Mrs. Gussie Kallis, whose business was affected, was stirred to the depths. She led a hot campaign of the aggrieved; she made impassioned speeches to them. Then principals began to receive threatening letters. The superintendent of schools received one, and shortly afterward his residence was bombed. But alas! this awful socialism in the schools is holding its

own, while Mrs. Kallis, with her husband, suffers arrest on a charge of conspiracy in connection with the bombing. Handwriting experts are ready to testify that she wrote the threatening notes. Query: What was wrong with her—her motive, or her method, or both? Will some capitalist please answer?

The Dawes Loan Again

The hurried loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to Charles G. Dawes' Central Bank of the Republic of between \$80,000,000 and \$90,000,000 excited great interest when it was made in June. It was then pointed out that there was a somewhat evil odor about the loan in view of the fact that Mr. Dawes had only resigned as head of the R. F. C. a few days before. The aid given to his bank seemed to be unduly protective in view of the fact that a large number of small neighborhood banks had been allowed to fail in Chicago during the preceding days without any such assistance being granted to them and to their depositors. The action of the R. F. C. was on the other hand defended, as by President Hoover in his speech at St. Louis, on the ground that had the Central Republic been allowed to fail, not only would the immediate depositors have lost, but the run on the other large Chicago banks would have been still further intensified and one and possibly two mammoth institutions would have gone down in ruin. The loan to Mr. Dawes, it was argued, would merely enable the Central Republic to liquidate without loss to the depositors.

During the last few weeks, additional light has been thrown upon the nature and consequences of the R. F. C. loan by the launching of a new Dawes bank which is designed to replace the Central Republic although the latter still continues to live in a somewhat shadowy fashion in the background. The new bank starts operations with a capital of \$5,000,000 and deposits of approximately \$76,000,000 of which about \$60,000,000 is represented by cash. It would seem probable that the cash which has thus been turned over to the new bank was derived from the loan made by the R. F. C. to the old. It is moreover appropriate to inquire whether the new bank took with it the better loans and left the poorer ones with the Central Republic. If such was the policy followed, then the question naturally arises whether the R. F. C. will have a legal claim upon the sound assets of the new bank or whether they can only be paid back from the weaker assets of the Central Republic.

There is a growing suspicion that the R. F. C. funds have been used primarily to set Mr. Dawes up in business again and not merely to protect the depositors. If this suspicion is to be dispelled both Mr. Dawes and the R. F. C. should offer a full explanation on these and a number of other points as well. The ready liberality with which the R. F. C. acted in

this instance is certainly in startling contrast to the way in which it cut the relief for the Cook County unemployed in September, to its refusal to grant adequate relief for the needy in Pennsylvania and to its extraordinary slowness in granting loans for self-liquidating projects of a public nature.

Loafing in the Vaults

There ought to be a law against saving, maintains Mr. Bernard H. Ridder, president of the New York *Journal of Commerce*. "Thrift is the curse of our present situation," he says. "We have too many capital assets already. What we need temporarily is a nation of spendthrifts. . . ."

More impressive is an appeal signed by six outstanding British economists—J. M. Keynes, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Walter Layton, Professor MacGregor, and Professor Pigou—urging the British people to spend lavishly or to the limit of their ability, even going so far as to say: "To spend less money than we should like to is not patriotic."

What is the world coming to? For generations citizens of capitalist countries have bowed down in idolatry to thrift as a cornerstone of civilization. Socialism has been damned with the sneer: "Where would you get the capital with which to carry on and expand industry if you destroyed the initiative and thrift of individuals bent on private gain?" Great fortunes have been defended as necessary to the accumulation of the capital required for mass production.

But now we are assured that too much capital is available and that the excess is a major cause of economic distress. "A very anomalous state of the money market has prevailed for some time," wrote a Wall Street editor early in October, "as a result of which money and banking credit have become available on high-grade short-term obligations at abnormally and even absurdly low figures. . . . One result has been that the United States Treasury has been selling bills on a discount so low that the cost of borrowing has been next to nothing. . . . the Government was obliged to pay less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1% per year on this class of borrowing." Two weeks later the same editor wrote: "As things are now going, the United States should soon be able to borrow at no cost whatever. . . . the Treasury gets a loan of \$75,110,000 for three months at the trivial cost of \$26,289. We need hardly say that such a state of things is full of menace."

Within the past few days another financial editor has pointed out that "the number of dollars at work in this country today, those with regular jobs in a bank loan or investment, are about \$15 billions less than 1929. . . . Just now dollars by the billions are on the breadline in every financial center in the world. . . . In the Federal Reserve banks alone there are half a billion of them, called excess reserves, getting a free

lodging for the night and not doing a lick of work or earning their keep; and for every one of them there are ten loafing among the ledgers and idling amid the adding machines of the member banks. Most of the dollars are living on a handout. . . . What's the matter with the poor simoleons? Hardly malnutrition or anemia. Every dollar has gained in weight about 50% since 1929 and could do half again as much work in any line."

Shades of the classical economists! Too much money available—while millions lack funds with which to purchase the bare necessities of life and must rely upon charity for survival! If billions less had flowed into the pockets of the rich, and billions more had gone into pay envelopes, the idle wheels of industry would now be whirling. But an equitable distribution of income and wealth cannot be achieved until workers, consumers, and voters are powerfully organized and prepared to exert the necessary political and economic pressure.

The Newspaper Mills Grind On

The purchase of the Chicago *Evening Post* by the *Daily News* of that city, and the consequent disappearance of the former publication, marks the continuation of that process of consolidation which has been going on in American journalism in general and in Chicago journalism in particular. At the turn of the century, there were between 15 and 20 dailies in Chicago, but these have steadily decreased until today there are but four, including a tabloid. The *Blatt* *Tribune* still holds the position of dominance, and poisons the mind of the whole Middle West against either domestic or foreign liberalism. The *Herald* papers are characteristically themselves, while the *Daily News*, with one of the most distinguished and competent staffs of reporters and foreign correspondents in the country, has steadily become more staid and conservative in the 15 months since Colonel Frank Knox assumed control. Interestingly enough only the tabloid *Daily Times* has a fearless and intelligent liberalism.

One of the unfortunate features of the consolidation of the journals is the throwing out of work without warning of most of the staff of the *Post*, which included the able literary critic, Llewelyn Jones. There is certainly great need for a union of journalists which will insist upon either sufficient notice being given or an adequate dismissal wage being paid.

With Chicago journalism in its present reactionary state, there is a vital necessity for a more adequate liberal daily than the *Times*. It is much to be hoped that the Scripps-Howard chain will find the resources for entering the Chicago field. According to past precedents, this might give rise to a bloody newspaper war, but the social consequences to the Middle West of such a liberal daily would be most salutary.



as Brailsford sees it

MR. H. G. Wells is, I suppose, the one major prophet left in our land to represent a long line. Our race is prolific in preachers who use the pen as were the children of Israel. We like to be scourged by them. We submit with an amazing docility to their contemptuous assaults on our efforts to build a civilization. Our taste for peril and adventure is flattered by their vision of a doom that overhangs us. A prophet may, and indeed must, separate himself from us in these ways: we distrust him if he speaks comfortably to us. But the paradox about him is that all the while he must remain a representative man. He must express us: He must voice our permanent racial character. He must be, even when he castigates and rejects, under the disguise of his mantle, the true-born Englishman. Carlyle was that, with all his anguishes and repressions. Ruskin and Matthew Arnold, on the other hand, could never quite persuade our fathers that they were authentic John Bulls.

About Mr. Wells there is no manner of doubt. He may have a zeal for science that is wholly un-English. His freedom from snobbery is another trait that marks him off from the average man. But these little peculiarities cannot obscure his identity with the race and society that bred him.

With all his great gifts of imagination and expression, Mr. Wells is neither highbrow nor rebel: his is not the minority mind. I believe that his latest book does but carry a great deal further, with more daring and lucidity, what is broadly the day to day thinking of the progressive half of our nation. *After Democracy*, which has just appeared on this side of the Atlantic, is a collection of articles and addresses, in themselves slight and unsystematic, yet knit together by a clear and decided train of thought. The most important of them is a lecture which was delivered to the Liberal Summer School and which had at the time a rather prolonged echo in the press. He expresses throughout the book an impatience with representative democracy, with Parliament and political parties, which is general all over Europe and has not failed to visit even our own complacent and traditional island. Towards this National Government of ours Mr. Wells feels, however, an hostility that borders on contempt. He has thought nothing out, and has no remedy for the

A Liberal Prophet

economic anarchy of our time, save to aggravate it by an attempt, half-hearted at that, to create a self-sufficient Empire. The Labour

Party he likes little better and respects no more. Certainly its record is depressing, though I think Mr. Wells fails to recognise the will that is now asserting itself within it for a new orientation.

TURNING away from both of these, Mr. Wells addresses himself to liberals at large, in our island and beyond it, for it is an international league that he aspires to create. The models that he has before him are the Communist Party in Russia and the Fascists of Italy. He demands devotion and discipline, and a will so firm that his league shall be willing to contemplate nothing less than the overthrow of governments that obstruct the organization of life on a liberal plan. He begins, modestly enough, by proposing to organize groups all over the country which will devote themselves to the political education of their own members and the working out of plans for the reorganization of the world. A few thousand men who have a clear plan can always, he thinks, get their way. Inevitably, this league is an insurrectionary force. It has no respect for majority decisions, and I gather (though Mr. Wells is not as explicit as he might be) that it would be prepared to use arms to achieve its ends. "Liberal Fascism" is the odd and self-contradictory name that he prefers, but he will not object if you like to call his league "the Communist Revision," "the modern Socialist Party" or "the Open Conspiracy."

What are its objects and beliefs? First and chiefly, it is internationalist, or as Mr. Wells prefers to say, cosmopolitan. It has vowed death to the national sovereign state, as it exists in the world to-day, and to nationalism, political and economic, in all its forms. It stands for world order and a federal world government which shall control at least money and credit, the production of staple commodities, transport and the movement of populations, labour conditions and, lastly, the manufacture of arms. The League will also stand for the recognition everywhere of a minimum standard of education and for the defence of personal rights and the liberty of opinion. One of its most urgent aims is to "rational-

ise money," to end deflation and the tyranny of the creditor, and to start "a regulated general inflation for the lightening of debts and the release of enterprise." It is so far Socialist that it aims at "a bold expansion of public employment and collective buying," though I am not clear how far Mr. Wells prefers to proceed by public ownership, and how far by regulation and control.

ALL this is interesting, chiefly as a reflection of the unrest and aspiration of our time. Mr. Wells differs from the rest of us only in the possession of an unusually vivid pictorial imagination, which promptly visualises what duller people dimly wish. He is not a leader or a man of action, and I doubt whether his League will ever disturb official slumbers in Washington or Downing Street. At the most, it may become a useful group of study circles, large or small. Some of these are being formed in England. But why, the reader may ask, do I, while respecting Mr. Wells' talent and sharing many of his opinions, deny a future to his League?

The question is worth answering, for it goes to the root of the difference in outlook between Liberals and Socialists. A Liberal may lose his rigid individualism, his faith in *laissez-faire*, even his suspicion of public enterprise and ownership, and yet remain in his own camp, sharply separated from every clear-sighted Socialist. The root difference lies in our attitude to history, in our conception of the way in which changes come about in human society. The typical Liberal—he is not very numerous in these days or very sure of himself—is a survivor of the 18th Century and the Age of Enlightenment. He really believes that men are moved by reasoned consideration of what is ideally best for society and themselves. You have only to argue clearly enough and long enough—for admittedly the process is slow—to ensure the eventual conversion of the majority to any reform that has reason on its side. The problem is intellectual. Even vice is error. One has but to educate. Of this philosophy parliamentary democracy is the expression.

Mr. Wells is not a typical Liberal, for he has lost his faith in democracy. He perceives that history is more than a chain of syllogisms. He recognises a dynamic factor in it. Change comes about, he thinks, when a group of men know exactly what they want, and have a firm, disciplined collective will to realise it. He has, however, an uneasy consciousness that Liberals are apt to be "spineless."

A Socialist will agree that the Russian Communists would never have got their way, never achieved their revolution, or made it, against incredible odds, a permanency, unless they had known exactly what they wanted, and schooled their wills by a tight system of discipline, half-military, half-monastic. But that is

only one factor in their success. They attained by organizing the masses and winning the leadership of a class. They found that class so exasperated by its sufferings in the War, so enraged against the incompetent and grasping upper strata of a ramshackle society, that it could be induced to embark on a relentless class war to destroy their power and end their exploitation.

LIBERALS are apt to be "spineless," because enlightened middle-class persons are not individually in this condition of misery and fear. Looking out on the world, they are shocked by its disorder and revolted by its stupidity; but they do not fear hunger; they were never flogged by a landowner or struck by a foreman of a factory, nor must they live in pestilential slums. The number of human beings who will display for purely disinterested ends the quasi-revolutionary zeal that Mr. Wells demands has always been limited.

No. History moves with a creative will at this rapid tempo, destroying with one hand and constructing with the other, only when some great group of men has an adequate motive, grounded in its collective interests, for decisive action. The introspective individual may be aware of many motives, ranging from vanity to pity, in his personal actions, but masses of men move under economic pressure. That is as true of normal political movements as it is of migrations and wars. They argue, to be sure, while they move, but it is economic need, be it the lust of possession or the fear of hunger, that sets their feet in motion. For over a century history has been in the main the record of the complicated movement which are the response of classes, or of government dominated by a class, to the shattering new fact of power-production. Here the masters of the machine shake the supremacy of the older feudal aristocracy; there, in search of markets, they create an over-sea empire, or again they arm and compete and fight for the control of iron or coal or oil. And all the while they must defend themselves against organized workers who struggle, here consciously, there blindly, now at the pay-desk and again at the ballot-box, against the consequences of the ownership of power and machinery by this capitalist class. To this historic process, this incessant class struggle, Mr. Wells' program has no apparent relation. The present state of society can be radically altered only by a shift of power and a change in the ownership of the machines that are its basic fact. For that one must turn to those who have the least to lose from the hazard and the most to gain from the change.

H. N. Brailsford

London, October 25, 1932.

Tolstoyans Migrate to Kuznetsk

J. B. MATTHEWS

MORE than two thousand miles east of Moscow lies Novo-Sibirsk, the new capital of Siberia. Some two hundred miles farther toward the border of Mongolia, at the foot of the Altai mountains, is Kuznetsk. Any town in which Fyodor Dostoevsky had spent two years of exile would be a place of historical and literary interest. In those years (1859-1861) the drowsy inhabitants passed their lives in gluttony, drunken tears, frequent births and funerals, far from the main thoroughfares of the story.

Today that is all changed. The new steel manufacturing center of the Soviet Union is located there. This project was not a part of the original Five Year Plan, but was one of those many additions which have made this program of planned socialist construction the cause of much anxiety or astonishment in the outside world. Already it has taken on the aspect of a super-Gary, and soon Kuznetsk will be sending a billion tons of manufactured steel annually throughout the Soviet Union for industrial construction and thousands of miles of much needed railways under the second Five Year Plan.

It seems only a few weeks ago that I stood one midnight in the Red Square in front of the Tomb of Lenin in the company of five American engineers of the Freyn Company and listened to the chimes of the Kremlin toll forth the nightly strains of the "International." These engineers were on their way across Siberia to Kuznetsk to participate in the work of building this giant plant of the Soviet steel industry. And now the sleepy streets of Kuznetsk, with their few churches, the old fortress, the cemetery and the police station, have been transformed into one of the centers of major industrial activity in the world.

A year before that I had witnessed the impressive departure of a group of Tolstoyans from Moscow, bound for the same site at Kuznetsk to lay the foundations of a society of some of the purest communists in the Soviet Union. Things had not gone well with these followers of Tolstoy, firm believers in non-resistance and the full communal life of anarchism, in the capital of the Soviets at Moscow. They decided, therefore, to start life anew, and applied to the Soviet government for permission to migrate eastward where they might give a demonstration of communism along the lines of Tolstoyan belief. The government readily granted this request and offered every reasonable facility for the pioneers on their journey forth and settle in a new home. Greatly reduced railway fares were offered and some availed

themselves of the opportunity. Others preferred to travel afoot or in crude donkey-drawn carts, as their principles dictated. No firmer devotees of principle than these Tolstoyans are to be found in this land of limitless devotion to ideas. Holding to the supreme guidance of the individual conscience, however, they do not always agree on the details of their principles. There are, in consequence, at least three important groups found in the new community which is located some twenty *vershs* (about thirteen miles) from the main city of Kuznetsk.

THE smallest of these groups is known as the "Universal Brotherhood." They are the most anarchistic in their views. They are completely non-resistant in their philosophy, and when questioned on any subject of controversy by the authorities, maintain a stolid silence. The largest of the groups calls itself the "Life and Toil Brotherhood." They practice what they call full communal living, having no form of private property. Another group has taken the poetic designation of the "Peaceful Plowmen." They have collectivized the land only and correspond more nearly than the others to the Soviet *kolhoz*. These three groups number nearly a thousand individuals.

In addition to these, there are at least 12 who call themselves the "Handworkers," refusing to exploit the labor of dumb animals. A small group of the followers of Malovenzy from Ukraine have joined themselves to this Tolstoyan community. There are also some sixty Doukobors in the colony. These have escaped the sad fate of their fellow Doukobors who migrated to Canada, where a thousand of them are now in the Oakalla prison near Vancouver.

No comfortable apartments awaited these devoted disciples of Tolstoy at the end of their journey—only the virgin forest. Taming the wilderness and building their homes from its friendly trees entailed many hardships upon these pioneers. A few fell by the way and returned to Moscow before the heavy winter of the Altai crept down upon them. But most of them persisted in their purpose with that same hardihood of conscience that has enabled them to bear the penalties of refusing to conform to the new order of Soviet Russia, many of them having endured prison sentences for refusing service in the Red Army. Today, however, the foundations of a prosperous community have been laid, and in spite of some temporary misunderstandings with the local Soviet authorities, the government at Moscow has adopted a genuinely mag-

naminous attitude toward the community and its principles, which must often appear as mere foibles to outsiders as well as to the new proletarian masters of Russia.

Their chief crops are vegetables, though some grain is also grown. For these there is a profitable

market in the city of Kuznetsk, where fifty thousand workers on the new steel plant are making Soviet a world history with a speed that has come to be known as "Bolshevik tempo." Thus the remnant of the followers of the great Russian writer of the last century has found its *modus vivendi* with the new order.

Virginia 1932

MARGARET HAYES IRISH

SUSAN recently spent a month's vacation at her old home in southern Virginia, somewhere near Appomattox. In her tranquil voice she says that things are worse down there this year than they have ever been since she can remember. She tells us about her brother-in-law, who paid \$1.47 for gasoline to carry a truckload of tobacco 35 miles to the warehouse and then received \$1.45 for the load. There was a two-cent deficit in actual cash, besides which all the labor involved in sowing the seed in beds in February, transplanting the young shoots late in May, cutting the tobacco in September, curing, stripping it and loading it on the truck, went uncompensated. Countless small planters in Virginia have had similar experiences with their tobacco during the past year or two.

About five years ago, she says, they got from 30 to 60 dollars a load, depending on the quality of the tobacco. Last winter her father, who is living on and working land that was given to his grandmother when the slaves were freed, sold a load of tobacco for six dollars, but even this was so little that he held the rest of his crop, hoping for higher prices. Most of the people in the district have sold less than half their crops of last year and this. Some of them have been unable to find a market at any price. Others are

holding the crops on the chance that prices will rise this winter. But some of the tobacco kept in this way in the sheds will become mouldy; and if prices do not go up, the people, in Susan's opinion, will not know how to meet the situation. In late August a man passed by who said that tobacco was again selling at some places at six dollars a load, but the tobacco farmers did not know whether to believe the report or how to get their tobacco to those places if it were true. No, Susan says, no one has tried deliberately to destroy the crop in order to force prices up.

Susan is sure that this will be a very hard winter in the South for whites and Negroes alike. Almost all the families in the section, and they are large families, have lived for generations on the proceeds of tobacco raising and of making railroad ties of oak or pine for sale; cutting billets of poplar and pine for pulp wood has been another but newer source of income. They had been getting one dollar apiece for first-class oak ties, and 50 or 35 cents apiece for second- and third-class ties. Since most of the farms in the neighborhood are part farmland and part woodland, the people cut the ties in the woodlot. Usually they sold them to the local storekeepers, but for the past year there has been no market for railroad ties. Susan says the people think that the market must be glutted. This applies also to the billets for pulpwood. These are cut in five-foot lengths of pine and poplar, stripped of their bark and sent clear for sale. A carload or truckload of them should sell at a price ranging from 100 to 116 dollars. However, the individuals who cut the billets cannot ordinarily find trucks or freight cars available to transport large loads, so they must count upon selling small quantities to the local storekeepers. The storekeepers have bought almost no billets during recent months. The people have sometimes thought of pooling their labor and its products and assuring themselves of transportation through a loose form of coöperative organization. However, any tentative efforts in this direction have broken down under the strain of personal disagreements within the group and of lack of proper leadership. As Susan puts it: "They cannot seem to hold together long enough."



From "De Nottenkraker"

SHE, familiar as she is with the households there, and their resources, does not know what will happen to these people during the winter ahead. A few families raise enough vegetables, pigs and chickens to last them through the winter, but the majority have in hand only enough home-grown supplies to last through February. During the last few years most of the people have bought the necessities which they did not raise at the local stores on credit against the promise of the next tobacco crop. If the crop is bad, or if it does not sell, they accumulate debts and exhaust their credit. At present the storekeepers have stopped giving credit. As a result the people, white and Negro alike, will reach a point this winter when supplies essential to existence will fail them. They have drained almost all the possibilities of earning money. This year there is not even temporary work on the highway. Some of the men had work on the highway for two or three months last fall. Abruptly they were dropped and convicts were put on the job, apparently in line with a public economy campaign.

There will be a certain amount of relief. Last winter the Red Cross took care of a few families at the rate of two dollars per week for a family of five. Susan does not know how a family of five gets along on two dollars a week. The families that have vegetables will stretch out the supply a little longer and considerably thinner than it has been hitherto. Those who have a number of hogs and chickens will get on meagerly, although even the chickens will have less to eat than usual. As for fruit, this was an off year, and few trees bore fruit. Firewood, fortunately, can be picked up almost anywhere.

During the cold months more children than usual will be kept away from the inadequate, scattered schools. There are never enough shoes and warm clothes to go around, and this year credit will not be good at the stores. Besides, the children have no way to go to school when the snow is thick on the ground. Some families may grow tired of waiting for prices of tobacco to rise and for the demand for ties and billets to return. They will leave the land, the land that has come down through three or four generations from slave times and has been added to now and then in propitious years. If they can sell their farmland they will; a 300-acre farm with all its stock and equipment might bring 2,000 dollars if a sale were made—but a sale would probably not be made. On some farms the young people will leave for the cities and the old ones will be left to watch the tobacco in the sheds. Taxes will close in on other farms. It may happen that a few will be abandoned. The process will go on, in all probability, without excitement.

Susan believes that the times bear down equally hard upon Negroes and white people in her father's

neighborhood. There is no trace of resentment or indignation in her voice as she speaks about these things. There is apparently little resentment or indignation against the system in her community. She says that most of the people still hope that prices will rise and that tobacco will sell. So far as she knows, they vote Republican. No, she answers us, they haven't had any Socialists or Communists down there. No, there are very few sharecroppers in that section. No, not much is known down there about the farmers' march to Washington when Congress opens.

Holocaust

HEAVEN of heavens, nucleused in space,
 Environed by infinity. It were
 Impossible to apprehend its tears
 But for that archangelic Lucifer

Who told in Hades that no planet fell
 To doom but one or other of the host,
 Marking it for his own, wept bitterly.
 So I have dreamed myself high Heaven's ghost

Mourning a pinch of hot, ephemeral dust,
 Remembering how buds of April broke
 Upon the hills of that disastrous star
 Spiraling headlong in a twist of smoke.

MARGARET TOD RITTER

The Last Conquest

WRENCING his nurture as a Vandal might
 From ashes and corruption and despair,
 Man rapes the woods to build a house or chair,
 And blasts the earth that walls may bar the light.
 He fells the wild geese in their southward flight;
 He makes the oxen's blood his daily fare;
 He combs the deep that blind life squirming there
 May pay the reverence he deems his right.

But not content that air and soil and sea
 Offer red tribute, man must needs assail
 A richer prey, to reap a lordlier fee.
 And while the beaten moan, the starving wail,
 And towers are toppled by a crimson gale,
 Man makes a vassal of humanity.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ



Not in the

France's Juggernaut Rolls On

Jacques Martin, a secretary of the Student Christian Movement in France and member of the Committee of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation, was sentenced by the Military Tribunal to one year's imprisonment—the maximum sentence—for refusing military service. Martin's trial caused a considerable sensation, and he was ably defended by some of France's leading clergymen and writers. Camille Rombauid, who had served three and one-half months of a four-month sentence for refusing military service, was released only to be taken at once to the military camp at Chalons to put in his period of service. Rombauid threatened to go on a hunger strike, and following the intervention on his behalf of the President of the Protestant Federation, the Ministry counted his prison term as part of the period of service and for the remaining few days put him into a military hospital as a "convalescent."

Child Wage Earners

Although the percentage of children in the United States who were gainfully employed was only 14.9 per cent for boys, and 7.7 for girls in the 1930 census figures published October 18, 1932, as compared with 22.2 per cent for boys and 11.8 per cent for girls in 1920, yet there were 1,425,326 boys and 720,723 girls still employed in 1930. The ages covered by this study are from 10 years to 17 years. The report states that the degrees in percentages of child workers between 1920 and 1930 is in part due to the displacing of children by adults during the depression in 1929 and in 1930, and in part due to better laws limiting child labor.

The Swedish Election

A bulletin from the Labor and Socialist International at Zurich states that the recent increase in the Socialist vote in Sweden which sent a Socialist premier into office is more significant than is indicated merely by the increase of seats from 90 in 1928 to 104 in 1932. "We have also won," says L. S. L., "elements of a more stable character. The greatest number of new social democratic voters hail from the agricultural working class. We may feel pretty certain of retaining them. We have also gained ground among the small farmers, especially in the forest districts."

Farmers In Deep

One quarter of the farm population of Arkansas is mortgaged to Uncle Sam, *The Liberty Spokesman*, Socialist paper of Arkansas, declares. According to the report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 46,835 Arkansas farmers have borrowed more than \$4,000,000 for production purposes. Clifton Hicks, editor of the journal, estimates that there are fewer than 200,000 farm families in the state.

'Patriots' Drop Long Hours Plea

The Better America Federation, super-patriot, anti-labor, red-baiting organization, has been compelled by widespread protests to withdraw from circulation a pamphlet carrying ridiculous arguments in favor of long hours and night work for women and children. The pamphlet states that greater leisure among workers was detrimental to morals, efficiency and general morale and was productive of the usual results of idle hours. "To deny women and children the right to work at night," said another paragraph, "is an abrogation of their fundamental right and a denial of equality of opportunity."

Profit and Slums

That speculative housing, in other words, housing for profit, is a cause of slums was admitted recently by Councilman Ernest Bohn of Cleveland, kindly Republican, who favors a slum clearance plan to be carried out by private corporations for limited profits, in a talk to the Cleveland Young People's Socialist League. "In Socialist Vienna and other European cities," said Bohn, "municipal housing has been successful. The rent in the Vienna homes is but \$1 or \$2 (per room) and there are no evictions of tenants who cannot pay."

Massachusetts Employment Gains

Massachusetts employment and total payrolls continued to show marked improvement in September above the unprecedented low point reached in July, when more than half the industrial workers of the state were jobless. The improvement which began in August continued at about the same rate in September, when 14,187 employees went back to work in 1,080 reporting factories. This meant an increase of 9.8 per cent in the number on the job, while there was a jump of 13.2 per cent in total payrolls. Employment was thus brought back to 60 per cent of the three-year average for 1925-27 inclusive, which is far from normal "prosperity." Data on wages are unavailable.

Brazil May Abolish Senate

A proposal has been made and is reported under consideration by the Brazilian government, now engaged in making plans to rewrite the Constitution of 1891, to replace the Brazilian Senate with a technical council representing the various trades and classes.

Capitalism Bankrupt, Say Religionists

"Our review of the present situation in economic, political, religious and church life reveals the essential bankruptcy of the present industrial capitalistic regime," declared the 35 directors of religious education of the Methodist Episcopal Church in conference at Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Ill. The conference set the teaching aims of Methodism for the next four years. "Democracy and capitalism do not go together," stated Dr. George A. Coe, one of the conference leaders.

Indian Christians Protest

A conference of Christian leaders in India, recently held in Lucknow, has recorded the unanimous opinion that Indian Christians in the United Provinces should be represented through joint electorates, with two seats reserved for them in the local Legislative Council and the right to contest other seats in the general constituencies. This latter right is denied to them under the plan drawn up by the British government.

F.O.R. in Central America

Following the return of Charles and Olive Thomson from Costa Rica, which Charles Thomson used as a base for his work as Latin American secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, their work has received a glowing tribute from several Latin American sources. A letter of deep regret at their departure was sent from Managua, Nicaragua, by a group of prominent lawyers, editors and labor leaders. *Repertorio Americano*, in an article on the F.O.R.'s secretary, states that "there is a United States that we have learned to love, thanks to the labor of Charles Thomson," and lists a group of radicals and progressives whose struggles against Yankee imperialism have been made known to Latin Americans. After discussing the usual Yankee desires with regard to Latin America, this paper says: "Charles came after something different. He came after our affection. He came to place himself at our side in those conflicts with his fellow-countrymen in which justice and morality stand on our side."

Headlines

Social Research Students

Despite the fact that many have been adversely affected by the depression, an increase of 20 per cent in the enrollment for the first week of the fall term as compared with the same period in 1931 has been announced by the New School for Social Research, 66 W. 12th Street, New York City.

Fascism in Finland

Finland, which has been in recent years harassed by a militant fascist movement, is beginning to show sturdy opposition to fascism on the part of the peasants—who were first used by the fascist leaders to put the movement over.

Wages in Detroit

Average earnings are down to \$10.82 a week in Detroit, legendary high-wage center, and the standard of living of the workers is sinking to a level of insecurity and want, according to figures recently released by the Mayor's committee on unemployment. The committee made a careful survey of 1,400 families in a district deemed typical of the whole city by the municipal welfare department. Wages have fallen from an average of \$33.05 in 1929 to \$10.82 now. The number of hours worked have dropped from 46.14 to 33.4 a week, while days worked have gone down from 5.78 a week to 2.85. The number unemployed has risen from 9 out of 812 in 1929 to 353 out of 810 in 1932. At the same time the number of those working seven days a week has dropped only 25 per cent.

Industrial Preparedness in Italy

A decree has just been published in Italy establishing a central labor office charged with "recruiting in peace time the operatives necessary in factories indispensable for the needs of war." This office must keep up-to-date lists of workers to fill posts in munitions factories, etc.

Farm Wages

Farm wages are now lower than they have been in 30 years, according to an announcement made on October 13 by the Department of Agriculture. Average daily wages for the country are \$1.19, or only 34 per cent of the pre-war wage level for farm hands. The range in pay reported from various states ran from 60 cents per day in Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina up to \$2.50 in Massachusetts. The average farm wage was 29 points lower on October 1 this year than it was on the same date in 1931.

Juvenile Unemployment in England

The Ministry of Labor has made a special investigation in regard to unemployment among juveniles—14 to 18 years of age. During the last two years the total number of juveniles on the unemployment registers has ranged from 100,000 to 140,000.

Strike Wins

Striking shoe cutters of the A. Fieldman Company, of Lynn, Massachusetts, won their demands for a 30 per cent raise in pay, recognition of the union, an eight-hour day, and a 44-hour week.

"Share Your Work"

Several leaders of the Berkshire Knitting Mills and the Wyomissing Industries are heading Hoover's "Spread Work" Committee in Berks County, Pennsylvania. Even in this year of depression the Berkshire Knitting Mills are running a ten-hour day, a twelve-hour night shift and a seven-day week.

Starvation Abroad in the Land

More than 20 per cent of New York City's school children are suffering from malnutrition, according to Health Department statistics. Of the 111,160 school children examined, 22,748 were undernourished.

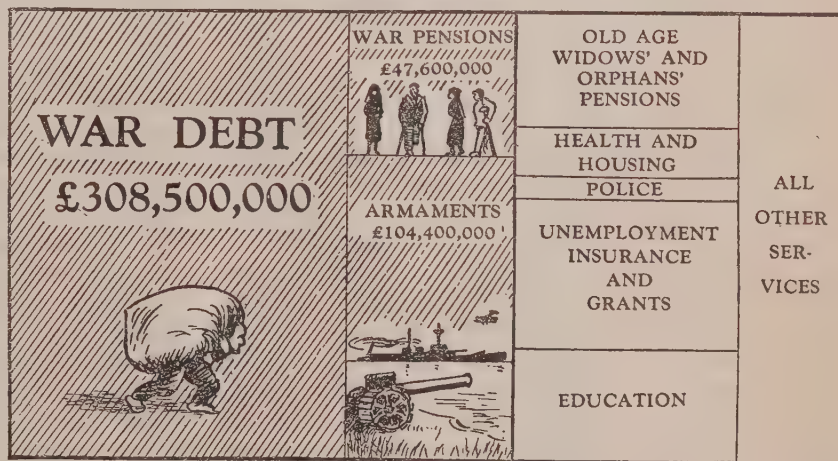
Iowa Merchants Cancel Debts

Declaring that "this depression has hit some folks pretty hard," Mr. and Mrs. James Hennum, proprietors of a general store at Sloan, Iowa, have cancelled \$75,000 in bills owed them by delinquent customers. Some of the accounts totaled nearly \$1,000.

"They do not answer"

The powerful Telephone company reported profits of more than \$75,000,000 in the first six months of 1932. During that same period telephones disconnected exceeded the number added by about 785,000. Nearly a million homes deprived of a necessity so that the company may make \$150,000,000 in profits.

War and England's Budget



The League of Nations' Budget of £1,347,000 on the same scale. The tiny black square is Great Britain's share (£182,000) in the present year (increased from £140,000 because of the fall in the value of the £).

The chart above represents Great Britain's total annual national expenditure (in round figures) of 766 million pounds (Budget 1932-33). The shaded part shows the proportion which goes to pay for past wars or in preparation for future wars—461 million pounds—about three-fifths of the total national expenditure. The tiny black square represents on the same scale Great Britain's expenditure on the League of Nations, a sum equal to that spent in 45 minutes of fighting during the World War.

Patrick Henry and Senator Lodge

Symbols of Opposition To the Extension of Government

KIRBY PAGE

DURING these days when the League of Nations is being swept by terrific gales from the Manchurian crisis, the disarmament controversy, and the world-wide economic conflict, it is well to rise above the storm and survey the present situation from the perspective of history.

Patrick Henry and Henry Cabot Lodge, separated by a century and confronting drastically different situations, stand as symbols of an age-old reluctance to adjust political processes to economic and social realities. Impressive parallels are found in the arguments used against the creation and ratification of the Federal Constitution and those advanced by persons opposed to the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.

II

WHEN the Constitutional Convention assembled in 1787, the calamitous effects of anarchy among the states were everywhere visible. "There are combustibles in every State," wrote Washington, "which a spark might set fire to." Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts was merely the most ominous of a series of riots and uprisings. The impotence of the Confederation has long been apparent. The Continental Congress had been formed in 1774 as a means of taking common action against England, but not until after a delay of seven years were the Articles of Confederation signed by Maryland, as the thirteenth colony to ratify "the firm league of friendship." Each state had one vote in the Congress, and the consent of nine states was required to pass any important measure. Salaries of the delegates were paid by the respective states, and much of the time a quorum was not present and legislative activities were halted. During the seven months beginning with October, 1785, on three days only were representatives of nine states on the floor, and a similar condition prevailed during the following year.

Sharp restrictions were placed upon the jurisdiction and power of Congress. It had no authority to raise money or to regulate commerce, and could only make requisitions and await responses from the 13 sovereign states. Even during the perilous days of the Revolutionary War, the states frequently failed to accede to its entreaties for troops and funds. At a critical period Washington recorded the fact that

hardly a state had provided as much as one-eighth of its quota of soldiers. During 1781 financial request of the states amounted to five million dollars, of which only \$422,000, or less than one-tenth, was remitted. Not a cent came from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Delaware. Paper money to the extent of over 400 million dollars was issued by Congress and the states, with the result that its rapidly diminished value gave rise to an expression which has lingered until this day: "It isn't worth a Continental!" Professor Schlesinger tells of a barber who found it a matter of economy to paper his shop with Continental money.

Professor Beard has pointed out that the Continental Congress was "little more than a glorified debating society speaking for 13 independent states, each of which claimed to be sovereign and was deeply occupied with its own problems, civil and military." Professor Nevins reminds us that "nine States, from Massachusetts on the north to South Carolina on the south, organized their own navies, and some States established their own systems of privateering. Several States fitted out their own armies, and used them for State purposes." The prestige and authority of the Continental Congress degenerated to such a degree that in 1783 its members were compelled to flee from Philadelphia to Princeton, in order to avoid being seized as hostages by a band of mutinous soldiers. "Thus in a city of thirty-two thousand inhabitants, the largest city in the country," wrote John Fiske, "the government of the United States, the body which had just completed a treaty browbeating England and France, was ignominiously turned out-of-doors by a handful of drunken mutineers."

The cleavage between the Eastern and Southern states was sharp and bitter. One section was engaged in commerce and shipping, while the other region was covered with plantations operated by slave labor. Their economic interests were as antagonistic as those of present-day nations. In the Federal Convention the East contended that laws affecting navigation and commerce should be passed by a majority vote in Congress, whereas the South, wishing to block undesirable legislation, held out for a two-thirds vote. For economic and humanitarian reasons the Eastern states urged the abolition of the slave trade; while self-interest made the Southern states belligerent.

The debate on the League of Nations in the Senate of the United States was likewise carried on at a time of grave crisis. The wreckage of the old system of nationalism-imperialism-militarism was strewn across the seven seas. Stricken humanity was crying aloud for deliverance. Desperate was the need for a new vision of international relations and a new method of handling international controversies. It was during these critical days that H. G. Wells exclaimed: "Destruction is not threatening civilization; it is happening to civilization before our eyes. The ship of civilization is not going to sink in five years' time or in fifty years' time. It is sinking now."

Thus it is evident that the year 1787 and the year 1919 alike were filled with unlimited possibilities of disaster and with fervent hopes for the creation of a new society.

III

WHEN Patrick Henry cried out, "Give me liberty or give me death!" he was thinking in terms of the state rather than of the nation. Upon being elected a delegate from Virginia to the Constitutional Convention, he felt obliged to decline because he "smells a rat." After the Federal Constitution had been drafted and submitted to the states, he bitterly fought its ratification. "We are come hither," he exclaimed, "to preserve the poor Commonwealth of Virginia, if it can be done; something

must be done to preserve your liberty and mine. Our legislatures will indeed be a ludicrous spectacle—one hundred and eighty men marching in solemn, farcical procession, exhibiting a mournful proof of the loss of liberty of their country, without the power of restoring it." Mr. Tredwell in the New York Convention exclaimed: "I cannot be totally silent on this occasion, lest lisping babes should be taught to curse my name, as a betrayer of their freedom and happiness." In the course of an address in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, Rawlins Lowndes said that "he wished for no other epitaph than to have

inscribed on his tomb, 'Here lies the man that opposed the Constitution, because it was ruinous to the liberty of America.'"

The patriotism of Henry Cabot Lodge was not less fervent than that of Patrick Henry. On August 12, 1919, the former exclaimed: "The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. . . . Beware how you trifle with your marvelous inheritance, this

great land of ordered liberty, for if we stumble and fall freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin." On another occasion Senator Lodge said: "We are asked to depart now for the first time from the foreign policies of Washington toward the other end of the line at which stands the sinister figure of Trotsky, the champion of internationalism."

Senator Lodge once submitted a resolution passed by the National Dames of the Civil War of Greenfield, Massachusetts: "We are strongly opposed to any connection with other nations. As a free and independent Nation our development has been the wonder of the world. We are for America first, America last, America always and forever, and our Star-Splangled Banner and no other; no, never. . . . Read, enthusiastically approved, and accepted September 19, 1919, at last encampment."

IV

THE doctrine of sovereignty has always constituted one of the most formidable barriers to peace. In commenting upon the jealousy exhibited by the respective states, Washington deplored the "thirst for power, and the bantling—I had like to have said MONSTER—sovereignty." So reluctant were the states to impair the "precious jewel of sovereignty" that the Continental Congress was merely a "mutual court" where ambassadors gathered together to negotiate with "foreign" powers.

Early Divisions and Enmities

Mr. Pierce Butler considered the interests of the Southern and Eastern States "to be as different as the interests of Russia and Turkey"; while Mr. Elbridge Gerry could not restrain "his fears that a civil war may result from the present crisis of the United States." Territorial disputes, which have always been among the most dangerous of controversies, added fuel to the flames. When the Federal Convention opened its sessions there were eleven inter-state boundary controversies outstanding. Tariffs and retaliatory measures still further embittered relations among the states. New York, for example, imposed a duty upon firewood, butter, cheese, chickens and vegetables from New Jersey and Connecticut, "just as was done by ships from London and Hamburg." In retaliation Connecticut merchants signed an agreement, under \$250 penalty, not to send a dollar's worth of goods to New York for twelve months. James Madison recorded the fact that "Some of the States, Connecticut, taxed imports as from Massachusetts higher than imports even from Great Britain. . . ." John Fiske once expressed the opinion that if it had not been for the successful outcome of the Federal Convention, "another five years would scarcely have elapsed before shots would have been fired and seeds of perennial hatred sown on the shores that look toward Manhattan Island." Immediately after the signing of the Constitution, George Washington appealed in vain to Patrick Henry for support. "From a variety of concurring accounts," he wrote, "it appears to me that the political concerns of this country are in a manner suspended by a thread, and that the Convention had been looked up to, by the reflecting part of the community, with a solicitude which is hardly to be conceived; and if nothing had been agreed on by that body, anarchy would soon have ensued, the seeds being deeply sown in every soil."

"I should be a traitor to my country," exclaimed Mr. Dawson in the Virginia Convention, "and unworthy that freedom for which I trust I shall ever remain an advocate were I to assent to its ratification. . . . I shall lament exceedingly, when a confederation of independent states shall be converted into a consolidated government; for, when that shall happen, I shall consider the history of American liberty as short as it has been brilliant, and we shall afford one more proof to the favorite maxim of tyrants, that 'mankind cannot govern themselves.'" Mr. Lansing of New York declared: "The states, having no constitutional control, would soon be found unnecessary and useless, and would gradually be extinguished. When this took place, the people would lose their liberties, and be reduced from the condition of citizens to that of subjects."

Senator Lodge was equally concerned about sovereignty. "One of the reasons why I object to the provisions of this treaty," he said, "is that it endangers the sovereignty and the independence of the United States." On another occasion the Senator warned: "We must see to it that the democracy of the United States, which has been prospered so mightily in the past, is not drawn by any hasty error or by any glittering delusions, through specious devices of superna-

tional government, within the toils of international socialism and anarchy." From Senator Borah came a ringing declaration: "I am not in favor of an league of nations which infringes in the least upon the sovereign power of the people of the United States to direct and control the destiny of this Nation . . . Americanism, the most vital principle in civilization today, the hope of the world, is not to be compromised, much less abandoned."

V

IN 1787 and in 1919 alike, the idea of a superstate was viewed with alarm. In one of his numerous speeches Patrick Henry complained: "This Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when we come to examine these features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints toward monarchy . . . Your president may easily become king. . . . I would rather infinitely, and I am sure most of the Convention are of the same opinion, have a king, lords, and commons, than a government so replet with such insupportable evils. . . . As this government stands, I despise and abhor it." Mr. Tredwell of New York expressed the opinion that "our lives, our property, and our consciences, are left wholly at the mercy of the legislature, and the powers of the judiciary may be extended to any degree short of almighty. . . . This government is founded in sin, and reared up in iniquity . . . and I fear, if it goes into operation, we shall be justly punished with the total extinction of our civil liberties." In quaint language Mr. Holmes, of Massachusetts, expressed an apprehension that "we shall find Congress possessed of powers enabling them to institute judicatories little less inauspicious than a certain tribunal in Spain which has long been the disgrace of Christendom: I mean that diabolical institution, the Inquisition."

More than a century later Senator Lodge was equally alarmed as he contemplated the League of Nations. On various occasions he put himself on record in vigorous language: "But as it stands there is no doubt whatever in my mind that American troops and American ships may be ordered to any part of the world by nations other than the United States . . . the point which is to me the most objectionable in the League as it stands; the right of other powers to call out American troops and American ships to go to any part of the world . . . we shall find ourselves obliged to furnish our quota to a force which will compel the admission of Asiatic labor to Canada." In discussing Article 10 before a Boston audience Senator Johnson declared that "under this article the British Empire can demand American blood to subdue Ireland."

Hysteria and Passion

Senator Harding was apprehensive. "If the League as negotiated can do all that its proponents have promised," the future President declared, "it can tighten its grip on the destiny of nations and make our inspiring nationality only a memory." While Senator Borah warned: "The fact is that we have come in contact with two evil forces from the Old World—Prussianism and internationalism. Instead of repelling and rejecting them we are yielding to their slimy maw the proudest heritage ever left to the keeping of any people. . . . Both are founded upon treachery, deceit, lying, repression, force, decimation, and assassination." Senator Reed of Missouri expressed extreme unwillingness "to put the neck of Uncle Sam in that sort of noose, to throw the rope over a beam, and to place the other end of it in the hands of our ancient enemies, with permission to pull, pull, pull as long as they please . . . the poison of internationalism is in its fangs, and the death of nationalism is within its deadly and scaly folds. . . . The further you get into the thing the more it is like reading Dante's Inferno. Each page takes you into a deeper hell. Each exploration brings new horrors." "Pause, Mr. President," begged Senator Knox, "and consider what it is proposed to do—take from the social organism not alone the right, but the power of self defense. We shall stand not only naked, but bound and helpless." Senator Sherman referred to the League as "a Pandora's box of evil to empty upon the American people the aggravated calamities of the world. . . . The death knell of the American Republic."

VI

HOSTILITY toward other nations and fear of entanglements were primary factors in the refusal of the Senate to accept admission to the League of Nations. Earlier enmities and apprehensions came perilously near preventing the ratification of the Federal Constitution. The debate in the Constitutional Convention was so bitter that it was considered unwise to publish the record of its deliberations until half a century afterward. Mr. Bedford went so far as to say: "the large States dare not dissolve the confederation. If they do, the small ones will find some foreign ally, of more honor and good faith, who will take them by the hand, and do them justice." Mr. Wilson declared that "he knew there were some respectable men who preferred three Confederacies, united by offensive and defensive alliances."

Out of 73 delegates appointed to the Federal Convention, only 55 ever put in an appearance, and only 9 signed the finished document. Favorable action in the state conventions was secured by the narrowest of margins, as may be seen from the vote in the following states: Virginia, yeas 89, nays 79; New York, yeas 30, nays 27; Rhode Island, yeas 34, nays 32; Massachusetts, yeas 187, nays 168; New Hampshire, yeas 57, nays 46. In these five states there were 397 affirmative votes and 352 negative ballots. Thus we see that if 23 strategic votes has been shifted, the Federal Constitution would have failed of ratification, since the adherence of nine states was essential to adoption. Just 23 votes out of 749 cast in these five conventions!

During the debate inside and outside the Senate myriads of words and tons of ink were consumed in denunciation of foreigners. The inferiority of other people was considered axiomatic by countless speakers and writers. Senator Reed referred to the personnel of the International Labor Organization as "hottentots and buccaneers and pirates and princes . . . foreign internationalists . . . international socialists . . . anarchists who would destroy the structure of civilization and tear down the temple of liberty tomorrow. . . . This monstrous creation, sir, you propose to set up and give it sanctity." Senator Fall, who later became Secretary of the Interior before serving a term in a federal prison, said that "entering into this proposed league . . . you not only tie your hands but, as I say, you shackle the people of the State of Texas, and you submit to the extension of the Caranzista civilization over the borders of the United States, to the wiping out of a portion of one of the cleanest, most progressive cities in the southwestern portion of this country."

After many months of this kind of debate, the Senate refused to accept membership in the League, the final vote being 49 in favor and 35 against, seven votes short of the required two-thirds.

As It Was in the Beginning

The prestige and authority of the Federal Government was so low during its first decades that frequently men of high ability refused to accept office. Professor Bassett records the fact that "five men of Revolutionary distinction refused the secretaryship of state in 1795." Patrick Henry rejected the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton that he team up as candidate for Vice-President with John Adams against Jefferson and Burr. President Jefferson found the task of securing a capable Secretary of the Navy so difficult that he laughingly suggested that it might be necessary to advertise for a candidate. De Witt Clinton resigned from the Senate of the United States to become Mayor of New York City. Chief Justice John Jay resigned from the Supreme Court in order to run for Governor of New York, and when in 1800 he was tendered a reappointment by President Adams, he declined because he was convinced that the Supreme Court "under a system so defective" would never "obtain the energy, weight, and dignity which were essential to its affording due support to the National Government, nor acquire the public confidence and respect which, as the last resort of justice of the nation, it should possess." In a recent interpretation of the Constitution, we read: "During the same interval there were also several resignations among the associate justices. So, what with its shifting personnel, the lack of business, and the brief semi-annual terms, the Court secured only a feeble hold on the imagination of the Country." John Randolph expressed the opinion that the judiciary had become a "hospital for decayed politicians." Alexander Hamilton once described the Constitution as "a frail and worthless fabric."

VII

THE inadequacies and failures of the League of Nations during its first decade have been shouted from the housetops, but American memories of the early weaknesses of the Federal Government have grown dim. At the very beginning Washington was made apprehensive because of the casual way members of the first Congress dropped in at the seat of government. On the opening day, the first Wednesday of March, 1789, a quorum was not available, only nine of 22 senators being present, and only 13 of 52 representatives.

During the first three years of its history only five cases came before the Supreme Court, and only 55 cases were heard before John Marshall ascended the bench on February 4, 1801. In the famous Chisholm case which came before the Court in 1793, the first instance in which a decision against a state was handed down, the Court ordered Georgia to pay a judgment to Mr. Chisholm. Whereupon the Georgia Legislature met, and instead of making the required appropriation, passed a law to the effect that anyone who attempted to enforce the decision of the Court was guilty of a crime and would be hanged. A de-

cade later Judge Todd of Kentucky, in referring to the Supreme Court, said: "We resist every idea of having our suits decided by foreigners."

From 1793 to 1795 the famous Whiskey Rebellion threatened the very foundation of the national government. Objection to the tax on liquor was so violent that the legislatures of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland passed resolutions against the law. In Pennsylvania armed resistance was offered, and President Washington found it necessary to send an expeditionary force to quell the rebellion. In 1800 one of John Jay's correspondents moaned: "Old Gates used to tell me in 1776 that if the bantling independence lived one year, it would last to the age of Methuselah. Yet we have lived to see it in its dotage, with all the maladies and imbecilities of extreme old age."

In the Cherokee case in 1831 Georgia again flatly refused to abide by a decision of the Supreme Court and was supported by the President of the United States. It was on this occasion that President Jackson made his famous remark: "Chief Justice Marshall has made his decision; now let him come off the Bench and enforce it." In the same year the *United States Telegraph* thundered: "This court has no more right to meddle with our questions than has the court of King's Bench in London." About this time John Quincy Adams confided to his diary: "The union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution. The ship is about to founder." To his colleague, Justice Story, John Marshall wrote despairingly: "I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last. Our opinions are incompatible with a united government even among ourselves. The Union has been prolonged thus far by miracles. I fear they cannot continue."

VIII

THIRTEEN years ago the United States was prevented from joining the League of Nations by fear, misrepresentation and partisan politics. Even under those circumstances, let it be remembered, 80 members of the Senate were on record as favoring entrance with reservations, and a considerable majority cast affirmative votes in the crucial ballot. The falling short by seven votes of the required two-thirds was due to the fact that the followers of President Wilson refused to vote for entrance with the Lodge reservations attached. On this ballot, if all Senators who were favorable to the League had voted accordingly, the negative vote would have totaled less than twenty.

In spite of a campaign of unrestrained vituperation, there is an abundance of evidence to show that the nation as a whole favored our adherence with reservations. Senator Harding, later to be President, said on September 11, 1920: "It was the truth, last year, two years ago, three and four years ago, the people of this country were heedlessly and overwhelmingly for a league of nations, or society of nations. . . ."

Senator Lodge recorded his opinion in memorable words: "I said to Senator Borah, it seemed perfectly obvious to me that any attempt to defeat the Treaty of Versailles with the League by a straight vote in the Senate, if taken immediately, would be hopeless, even if it were desirable. . . . He told me that he agreed entirely with my description of the situation, that he did not believe the treaty could possibly be beaten at that time by a direct vote. . . ."

During the Presidential campaign of 1920, an appeal was made by 31 distinguished Republicans—including Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson and Ray Lyman Wilbur—to vote for Senator Harding as the quickest way to get the United States into the League, saying explicitly: "The question accordingly is not between a league and no league, but is whether certain provisions in the proposed league agreement shall be accepted unchanged or shall be changed." In his Des Moines address Candidate Harding promised to consult with the "best minds . . . to the end that we may have an association of nations for the promotion of international peace." Professor Irving Fisher of Yale had testified publicly that in July, 1920, Mr. Harding said to him: "I want the United States to get into the League just as much as you do. . . . My idea is to call the nations together and ask them to make such amendments as are necessary to secure the approval of the United States." After the election landslide, Calvin Coolidge, the newly elected Vice-President, said: "I doubt if any particular mandate was given in the last election on the question of the League of Nations and if it was the preponderant issue."

In spite of the intense hostility manifested toward the League, the United States has found it impossible and inadvisable to refrain from participation in its activities. Mr. Felix Morley has recently compiled data showing that this country has membership on 3 committees or commissions of the League, and that "excepting only the five permanent members of the Council, there is no member State which has representatives, official, quasi-official, or unofficial, on a large proportion of League committees as has the United States." Self-respect, a decent regard for the opinion of mankind, and the peace of the world demand that the United States, in its relations with the League of Nations, adopt a front-door policy and assume full responsibility as a member.

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The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

How to Be Patriotic Though Sane

Educating for Citizenship. By George A. Coe. Scribners. \$2.00.

WHO that ever knew, in person or in writing clear as steel engraving, the critical creative mind and the high ethical sense of Professor Coe would ever have expected to find him endorsing the Chicago *Tribune* standard of "My Country, Right or Wrong!" Yet, sure enough, here it is—page 196. No mistake. Wait a moment. The words may be the words of the Chicago *Tribune* but the voice is the voice of Coe. For we read on:

"When we realize that simple, homespun neighborliness, organized and in action, is the lifeblood of any nationalism that is worthy to exist, we have in our hands the clue to the meaning that patriotism should have for the school. Patriotism, if it is realistic and not visionary, is an attitude toward concrete human beings; love of country is love of Jack, and Mike, and Hans, and Ole and Giuseppe and all the members of their families. The reality of my country' is these persons; the finality of my country's claim upon me is the finality of the worth of these persons. The 'national interest' concerns their development and happiness, and, fundamentally, nothing else whatever. This is not the conventional view. . . . My country is in my undernourished countrymen." So that is it! Behind statolatry and phrase-olatry Coe's penetration has discovered something real, genuine, concrete and worth making ado about.

Education for citizenship? Yes, but not for life in an undisciplined state that has forgotten its role as servant and seeks to play tyrant. No "blank check upon his ethical reserves" is to be given by the pupil of the future to the state which trespasses upon the guaranteed rights of individuals, preaches individualism to reserve economic injustice, riots in military expenditure when the will of the people is peace and disarmament.

There are problems that invariably arise in such a discussion. Is democracy going and dictatorship coming? Is politics a "back-number," to be replaced by other types of social organization? Is self-government in schools a first step? Can teachers be propagandists for a new order and at the same time fulfill their responsibilities as leaders of youth? There has been much thinking along these lines in modern education. There will be more, but it will be better because one author, at least, has thought his position through and stated it clearly. Pupils are to be made critical, i.e., practiced in the use of free, cautious judgment in the light of facts. They are to be made to respect experiment in social policies. They are to share a fellow-feeling for all the different population groups, especially the minorities. They are actually to participate as citizens, here and now, in the improvement of social conditions, customs and institutions, within and outside of the school.

For reasons of special personal glee, the reviewer must quote one particular application. "Even in graduate schools or colleges of education, authority is usually of the overhead variety, an

obvious hangover from monarchical, aristocratic and paternalistic traditions. The students, though they are full-fledged citizens, are not represented in the faculty nor in the board of control by delegates of their own choosing; no, they have no representation whatever. . . . It would be interesting to know in just how many teachers' colleges the students exercise the prerogatives of citizens to anything like the extent that pupils in well-managed high schools exercise them."

The book is illuminated with the brilliant lines which those who have read Coe look forward to in every new contribution from his pen. A very few we may dare to pull out of their settings to give double delight to those who have read them or will read them in the book:

"The automatic patriot is a positive menace to his country. He jumps at conclusions, is led around by the nose, and fancies that he is especially devoted to his country when he is merely excited."

"What will the public schools do with the problem of race relations? . . . There is enough silence in the text-books to deafen anyone who has sensitive ears."

"The will of God is final, of course—so runs the sentiment of the five (Supreme Court) judges—but the Congress tells us what the will of God is!"

"It is easier to accept the risks of battle for oneself and even for one's own son, than to give up opportunity for power over other persons by reason of possessions."

GOODWIN B. WATSON

The Revolt of the Masses

The Revolt of the Masses. By José Ortega y Gasset. W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.75.

THIS book, by one of the leading thinkers of Spain, does not arrive anywhere and betrays more than one confusion of thought, but it repays the reader with more than one profound insight into the distempers of contemporary civilization. "The masses" for Señor Gasset are not the masses of industrial workers for whom that term is usually sequestered. They are the standardized men of a technological civilization. The modern scientist and specialist is their symbol rather than the communist. This standardized man is without moral principles. The only political morality which modern science evolved or helped to encourage was liberalism. But liberalism is being destroyed by the very industrialism which the technology of the nineteenth century created. Thus one child of the nineteenth century devoured the other.

Without a creed or a principle, the modern European falls back on the worship of the state, and by his uncritical devotion aggravates the peril of international anarchy. Europe's cultural and moral confusion may give communism a chance in Western civilization, even though the communist creed is really anathema to the European soul. The European has developed the values of

individualism too long to accept communism as a way of salvation easily. If he accepts it, it will be because a barbarism which has a sense of direction is superior, in power at least, to a barbarism which merely represents the decay of a civilization and reversion to primitivism. Such is Señor Gasset's thesis.

There are many confusions in his thought. He pleads for an aristocracy, but he is not at all clear what relation his aristocracy of character has to, or how it shall be distinguished from, a hereditary aristocracy. In describing the brutality of the modern mass man he fails to recognize the cruelty and violence of men, moving in masses, all through the ages. A modern state is hardly more ruthless than the states of old; it is simply more powerful. The conflict between classes is more cruel only because those who are oppressed now offer resistance to oppression in a way which was unknown to the ancient world.

Señor Gasset sees some aspects of modern life very clearly and writes about them with illumination. But his thesis in its entirety seems to betray that very lack of a sense of direction in bourgeois culture which he deprecates.

R. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

Beauty and Blood

(A student's reaction to the dedication ceremonies of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.)

IT was a gorgeous spectacle. Its values and beauties have been described in words far beyond my ability to relate. After the festivities of the day I went into the room of one of the boys in the dormitory. Over his bookcase was a picture of Jesus. I could not help but think how out of place He would have been at these festivities, with the possible exception of the "bull sessions."

All the pomp and display of the academic procession; the handing of the keys from one man to another for the purpose of displaying their own responsibility and glory in this enterprise. I stood upon a high knoll overlooking the buildings and grounds—\$1,240,000 worth of space, brick, stone and mortar, and practically every penny of it wrung from the wages of the poor devils who slaved in coal mines, oil fields and a dozen other enterprises, for the "grand master god" of Mammon, at wages one would hate to mention for the shame of it. "Thine is the glory," John D., but in reality the glory should be to those who have worn their

fingers bare, bent their backs, starved their families and then selves in the coal fields of Colorado, the oil fields of Oklahoma, the refineries of Illinois and in a dozen other countries scattered over the face of the earth.

To me every red brick in those buildings is stained with the blood of that poor devil who is sometimes labeled "the forgotten man," and who in this instance was in truth forgotten.

STUDENT XYZ

Rochester, N. Y.

In a Land of Overproduction

THE following is a letter which I recently received and which I think may be of interest to your readers, both as an indication of conditions and as a personal case calling for assistance:

"Just a few lines to let you know that I received your letter and was very glad to hear from you, the dollar you sent me sure was great help. I bought myself a pair of shoes with it. I stood in the house two weeks; I couldn't go out because I didn't have any shoes. You said you wanted to hear about my brothers. I have five, now I only got four. My brother Michael died 11 months ago. He was 23 years old. He sure was great help to the family since then my mother isn't herself any more. She is always sick. My brother Willie is trying hard for a job but he can't find any. My married brother has four children. He's out of work 11 months. He got his gas turned off and his electric light. We live in the same building, the little money my father makes he tries to help both families. My other two brothers go to school. Nicholas is in high school. Miss Cleghorn, do you think THE WORLD TOMORROW can get me a job. I'd give anything for a job even if it was cleaning the streets, I'd take it.

"I could never forget your kindness. My mother sends you her love and lots of luck. We all send you our best regards. Pray that I get a job. Thank you. Rose . . ."

Manchester, Vt.

SARAH CLEGHORN

Hunger and Private Property

WHEN in Galilee one day, which happened to be the Sabbath, Jesus was walking with his disciples through a privately-owned cornfield, his companions, being hungry, helped themselves to some of the ears, and ate from them as they were along. Certain watchful Pharisees found vehement fault at once. What did Jesus mean by permitting his followers to do what was not lawful on the Sabbath day?

Jesus replied by asking the fault-finders a counter-question: "Have ye never read what David did when he had need and was hungered, he and they that were with him? How he went into the house of God . . . and did eat the shewbread, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them that were with him?" And Jesus added with finality, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." (Saint Mark 2:23-27.)

Thereby was sanctioned the breaking of two laws at the same time on account of simple human hunger—Sabbath observance and the prohibition, so strict as to amount to a "taboo," against non-priestly consuming of the shewbread allotted to the temple altar. Is it any wonder that the upholders of "law and order" of his day judged the Nazarene guilty of approving rebellion, confiscation and sacrilegious contumacy? And that for "no better reason" than the appeasing of bodily need! How subversive and perilous, they assured one another, was such example and teaching.

Who's Who in This Issue

J. B. Matthews is an executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Margaret Hayes Irish (Mrs. Corliss Lamont) is a translator and research worker.

Margaret Tod Ritter, a contributor of verse to leading American publications, is the author of *Mirrors* and *Wind Out of Betelgeuse*.

Stanton A. Coblenz, author of *Marching Men*, has written several volumes of verse, including *The Lone Adventurer* and *The Decline of Man*.

Goodwin Watson is associate professor of education at Columbia University.

Something effective, they agreed, must be done to halt this start and defer of the law.

Suppose for a moment that instead of gnawing ears of corn which they had plucked from someone else's cornfield, latter-day hungry ones passing through a city street should help themselves from heaped-up stocks of cereals, fruits and canned goods, and could take bottles of milk for their babies wailing with hunger. It is of course certain how they would fare with the police. But the particular inquiry of this writing is what treatment the starving ones would meet from those who claim allegiance to the Nazarene, and from the churches that preach loyalty to his example.

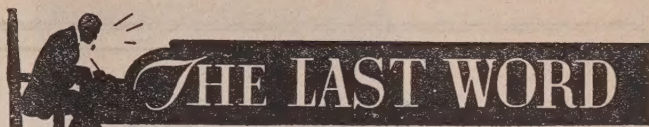
If someone, whether high ecclesiastical officer or humblest missoner, should in his Master's name and with his moral authority, ask the infuriated accusers of the "culprits," the police who arrested them, and the magistrates before whom they were arraigned, "Have ye never read what David did when he was hungry?"—what then would the modern law-upholders do to him? There are new ways of crucifying.

And if wanderers in a modern city, failing in all attempts to secure bread-winning employment, and learning that relief bureaus were closing or sharply cutting down on applicants for lack of funds, should associate themselves to take some of the bread-show in the ostentatious windows to turn it into real food, that easily-imagined condemnation they would receive from the authorities, with perhaps a few, at least by silence, not concurring! But what would the judgment upon them be from One who was more merciful and deeply understanding? Stooping down and writing on the sidewalk or the courtroom floor in the presence of the prosecutors, "as though he heard them not," and then standing erect again, he can be heard by the attentive heart across the centuries saying, "He that is without a morsel of food among you, for himself or his babies, let him first enter accusation against these men."

Dare his present-day disciples follow him faithfully in this? It may be the sterner call which is soon coming to all the churches! Unless before it is too late, fellow-Christians, we unite with sufficiently resolute purpose to bring in a real social system, far dearer to the heart's desire of righteousness and love, wherein the iniquity and portent of disemployment and attendant starvation for any citizen willing to earn his bread will be abolished once and forever, we are pilloried in completely justified public opinion as friends of the selfish spirit of this present world more than of the Man of Galilee. We cannot follow both that Leader and the mammon of ever-cautious expediency. The choice must now be made.

Roselle, N. J.

ELIOT WHITE



I CAN'T remember the Alpinist or the mountain peak, but I have been recalling the old story of how he climbed over the sheer rocks and the icy trails, up and up until there were no trails at all, and finally, by an effort of will and muscle, reached the summit where before him no man had ever stood. He was exhausted, but not too tired to let his soul thrill with the emotion of his achievement, and to allow his reddened eyes to wander about the valleys, drinking in the breathless beauty of the exquisite vistas that stretched away in every direction. It was a miracle that on his way down his feet did not slip, so intent was his thought, not on footholds and the path, but on the glory of his perfect moment. And then, bursting into his house by twilight, and uttering ecstatic cries to his wife, he found his disillusionment. For although his spouse was not precisely unimaginative, and although she was not unsympathetic, she had to cut his romantic narrative off in the very climax. The cat, it seemed, had climbed clear to the top of the *platane* tree out by the drying-shed. And so, under the gleam of a silvery moon, the proud Alpine conqueror marshalled his energy, and spent the next two hours persuading proud pussy to come down from her gorgeous heights. Whether the cat ever regaled his own mate afterwards with uninterrupted stories of his climbing prowess, I never knew.

It all came back to me, however, just before the election. It was a huge crowd that stretched out before me, not fewer than 22,000 being present. Like the other speakers, I visioned a new world order; like everyone present, I experienced a moment on the heights when the waving of banners symbolized the socialized society of our dreams. Still wrapped in a mantle of enthusiasm, though not immune to the ravages of hunger, I stopped at a corner eating place. "Make it a hamburger sandwich," I said, in lordly fashion. And then, now that the campaign was nearly over and there were no votes to consider, I exclaimed, as an afterthought, "don't forget to slip in a big slice of raw onion."

It was soothing to reflect, as the glow of excitement was mingled with that other quiet satisfaction of modest nourishment, that we were making progress. Come what may, we were already able to look forward. . . . But here, alas, a harsh voice broke into my rumination, with a grating and persistent refrain. It said, just outside, on the sidewalk: "Poiper, poiper! Read all about d' big gang moider! Read all about d' big gang moider!" Not even the fragrance of Bermuda's fields, or the taste of hamburger and coffee, could smother the portent of that sinister salesman. Tossing aside my victuals and donning my hat, I hurried with all decent haste from the accursed spot, vowing that never again would I be carried off my base of realism.



NOT once, however, have I ever come down from the apex of vision to declare that I wanted to migrate to a desert isle. Yet maybe that too I shall come to in the future. Have I not just read that the Hydrographic Office, with unromantic reticence, has warned off mariners of the Pacific, some 1,300 miles south of San Diego, from a floating desert island—"crowned with trees twenty feet high" that drifts around aimlessly instead of staying still? Not even the imagination of a Verne or a Conrad ever went so far as this. But what enchantment! Here Robinson Crusoe or a modern counterpart might sequester himself from the interruptions of civilization, withal giving up locomotion not at all. With a good inventive mind that could provide a workable rudder, all this were paradise enow. The only trouble I can think of would be concerned with the time belts, whereby a Pacific voyager often loses a day in transit. It would be a little difficult, if too frequently your man Friday had to become Thursday over night. I've written, however, for the exact location of the island. Want to come?

Eccentricus ■

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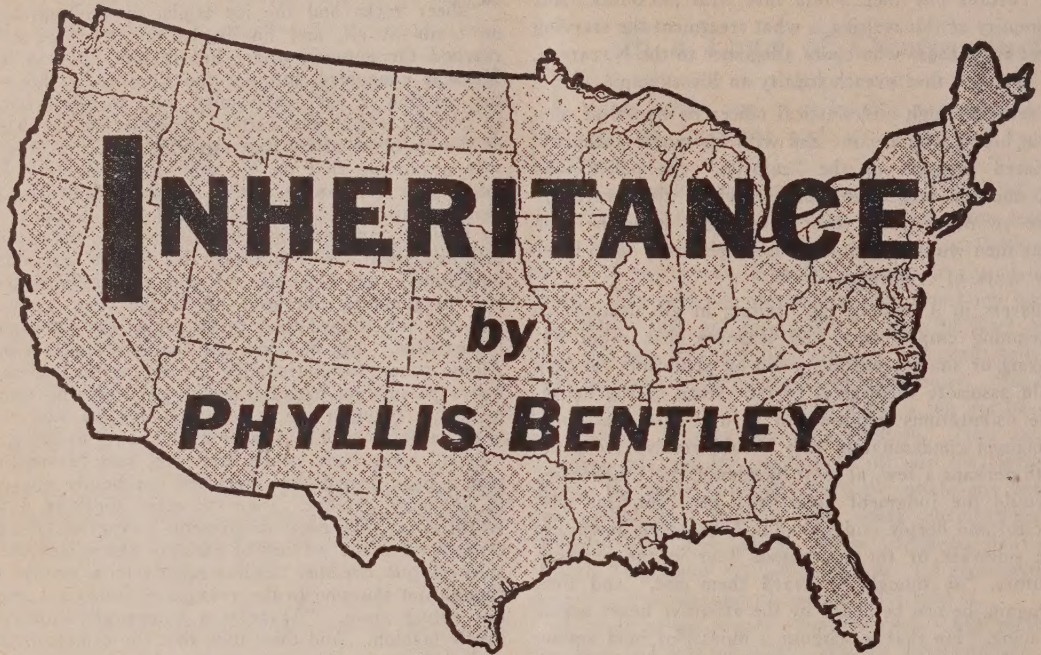
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